

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1803

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 4123

NODIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS USMISSION GENEVA EYES ONLY SECRETARY
VANCE

DEPT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE, ATT: DR. BRZEZINSKY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (MONDALE, WALTER F.), US, SF, RH, WA
SUBJECT: SECOND MEETING BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE AND
PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, AFTERNOON, MAY 19

1. BEGIN SUMMERY: AFTER BRIEF DISCUSSION OF RHODESIA AND
ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, AFTERNOON DISCUSSION TRUNED RO
NAMIBIA. VICE PRESIDENT MANDALE REVIEWED PROGRESS AT CAPE
TOWN AND SOUGHT TO OBTAIN SOUTH AFRICAN CLARIFICATION OF
POSITION ON REMAINING ELEMENTS OF RESOLUTION 385, PRIMARILY
NATURE OF INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH SOUTH
AFIRICA CONTEMPLATES, AND RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. IN
RESPONSE TO VORSTER'S SUGGESTION THAT INTERIM ADMINISTRATION
BE TURNHALLE REVISITED, VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE STATED THIS
APPROACH UNACCEPTABLE. WHEN VORSTER REITERATED HIS VIEW, IT
WAS AGREED THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD DEVELOP ITS PROPOSAL FOR
DISCUSSION AT A MEETING WITH THE CONTACT GROUP, TO BE HELD
AT CAPE TOWN IN APPROXIMATELY TWO WEEKS. SOUTH AFRICANS
CONTINUES TO INSIST THEY HOLD NO POLITICAL PRISONERS,
BUT WENT ON TO STATE THEY WOULD CONSIDER FAVORABLY

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RELEASE OF NAMIBEANS HELD IN SOUTH AFRICA IF ZAMBEA
AND TANZAIA WOULD ALSO RELEASE NAMIBIANS HELD BY THEIR
GOVERNMENTS. VORSTER AGREED TO PROVIDE LATER HIS
REACTION TO CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL THAT AN INTERNATIONAL
COMMISSION OF JURISTS SETTLE DISPUTES REGARDING
POLITICAL PROSONERSM. END SUMMERY.

2. SOUTHERN RHODISIA: DISCUSSION AT OPENING OF MEETING
RETURNED TO QUESTION OF ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND.

VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE SAID THAT BRITISH FOREIGN
SECRETARY OWEN HAD TOLD SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THAT
IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO GET SPONSORS FOR THE FUND WERE
IT TO BE INTERPRETED AS A "BUY-OT" FUND. THE VICE
PRESIDENT REITERATED THAT WE SUPPORT CONSTITUTIONAL
GUARANTEES, ELECTIONS -- WHICH PROBABLY WOULD LEAD TO
A MODERATE GOVERNMENT IF HELD SOON-- AND ASSISTANCE,

THE SHAPE OF WHICH COULD BE DETERMINED DURING THE
CONSULTATIVE PROCESS. VORSTER SAID THAT SOUTH AFRICA
WOULD NOW HAVE TO RESERVE ITS POSITION ON THE QUESTION
AND CLEAR UP THE MATTER WITH THE BRITISH. HE AGREED
TO CONSIDER AND COMMENT "BEFORE YOU LEAVE" ON FOLLOWING
STATEMENT WHICH VICE PRESIDENT ENCOURAGED HIM TO ACCEPT
IN ORDER TO FOSTER "CONSTRUCTIVE, HOPEFUL ENVIRONMENT":
"THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AGREES TO SUPPORT
BRITISH-AMERICAN EFFORTS TO GET THE DIRECTLY INTERESTED
PARTIES TO AGREE TO AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND
THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS, INCLUDING THE
HOLDING OF ELECTIONS IN WHICH ALL CAN TAKE PART EQUALLY,
SO THAT ZIMBABWE CAN ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE DURING 1978."

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 VIENNA 4123

NODIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS USMISSION GENEVA EYES ONLY SECRETARY
VANCE

DEPT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE, ATT: DR. BRZEZINSKY

3. NAMIBIA: TURNING TO NAMIBIA, VORSTER REPEATED

STATEMENTS MADE TO CONTACT GROUP IN CAPETOWN, AND

REITERATED SOUTH AFRICA'S DESIRE TO RID ITSELF
OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA. HE CHRONICLED ESCHER/WALDHEIM
CONTACTS. VORSTER ARGUED THAT OVAMBO AND OKAVANGO

HAVE AUTONOMOUS GOVERNMENTS, ADDING THAT SOUTH AFRICA
WILL BE SETTING UP ADDITIONAL LOCAL GOVERNEMENTS, FOR
DAMARAS AND HEREROS. VORSTER DESCRIBED HIS PERSONAL
COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT TURNHALLE. ONLY IN ORDER TO
ACCOMMODATE THE CONTACT GROUP, VORSTER CONTINUED, HAD
HE AGREED THAT STATE PRESIDENT WOULD PROMULGATE
IMPLEMENTATION OF TURNHALLE PROGRAM, RATHER THAN HIS
OWN PARLIAMENT.

4. VICE PRESIDENT MANDALE OBSERVED THAT FOUR POINTS
HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN CAPE TOWN WITH SOME DEGREE OF
AGREEMENT. ON THE FIRST POINT, ELECTIONS, VORSTER THEN
SAID THAT HE DID NOT KNOW THE RESULTS OF THE CONTACT
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GROUP'S TALKS IN WINDHOEKA, BUT THAT 95 PER CENT OF
THE WHITE ELECTORATE IN NAMIBIA HAD JUST APPROVED THE
TURNHALLE PROGRAM. ON THE SECOND POINT, THE PRESENCE
OF UN REPRESENTATIVES, VORSTER SAID THAT AGREEMENT HAD
BEEN REACHED. ON THE THIRD POINT, SOUTH AFRICAN
WITHDRAWAL, VORSTER INSISTED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD
AGREED TO WITHDRAW ITS INSTRUMENTALITIES IN PHASES,
"AFTER THE INSTALLATION OF GOVERNMENT". NO AGREEMENT
HAD BEEN REACHED AT CAPETOWN CONCERNING
DETAINEES, POLITICAL PRISONERS, OR RESTRICTIVE LAWS.
VORSTER ADDED THAT HE HAD SET DECEMBER 31, 1978 AS THE
DATE FOR NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE. THE VICE PRESIDENT
CHARACTERIZED THESE INITIAL AGREEMENTS AS HOPEFUL, THEN
MCHENRY GAVE AN OUTLINE OF SUBSEQUENT CONTACT GROUP
CONVERSATIONS. MCHENRY OBSERVED THAT PEOPLE WITH
WHOM THE CONTACT GROUP HAD SINCE MET HAD ASKED THE
SAME QUESTIONS AS THOSE WHICH HAD BEEN UNRESOLVED AT
CAPETOWN.

5. THE VICE PRESIDENT REITERATED U.S. SUPPORT FOR U.N.

SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385, NOTING THAT ITS
SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION REQUIRES AN IMPARTIAL INTERIM
ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY, WHICH WOULD NOT PREJUDGE THE
FUTURE GOVERNMENT, BUT WOULD BE NEUTRAL. SECONDLY,

FAIR AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION WAS NECESSARY IN A NATIONAL
ELECTION FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, WHICH WOULD DRAW
UP A CONSTITUTION AND LEAD THE COUNTRY TO INDEPENDENCE.

VORSTER STATED THAT HE WAS VERY COMMITTED TO EXTEND LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO THE DAMARAS HEREROS, AND TO SET UP AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA. THE GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE REPRESENTATIVES OF EACH LOCAL POPULATION GROUP, WITH 11 NON-SHITES AND, AT MOST, 2 WHITE WORK", ADDED VORSTER.

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6. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THIS INTERPRETATION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY, ON TURNHALD LINES, WAS A "VERY SERIOUS" DEPARTURE FROM OUR UNDERSTANDING. TURNHALLE WAS REJECTED BY THE U.N. AND THE U.S. HE REITERATED OUR CONCEPTION OF THE PROCESS NECESSARY. VORSTER RETORTED THAT AN ELECTION IS ENVISAGED IN HIS PLANNING TOO, TO BE HELD ON THE ISSUE OF A CONSTITUTION, I.E., TO RATIFY TURNHALLE.

7. MCHENRY AGAIN OUTLINED OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE CAPETOWN TALKS, SPECIFYING THE SAG'S AGREEMENT THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT BE TURNHALLE BY ANOTHER NAME. THE VICE PRESIDENT CAUTIONED VORSTER ON PROBABLE REACTIONS TO HIS PURSUING TURNHALLE, TO WHICH VORSTER REPLIED THAT HE WOULD LEAVE PUBLIC OFFICE RATHER THAN BE RESPONSIBLE FOR A TURNOVER TO VIOLENCE AND A BACKING DOWN ON HIS PUBLIC COMMITMENT TO THE NAMIBIANS. WHILE BOTH ENDEAVORED TO DEPICT MORE FLEXIBILITY AS EXISTING CONCERNING CONCEPTS FOR THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY/INTERIM GOVERNMENT, MOST FLEXIBILITY VORSTER WOULD OFFER WAS TO SAY THAT EXACT SHAPE OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT HAD NOT YET BEEN CLARIFIED. VORSTER CAME DOWN HARD: HE SAID THERE WERE TWO ALTERNATIVES FOR SOUTH AFRICA-- TO PULL OUT OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA COMPLETELY, "LOCK, STOCK AND BARREL" OR TO DO WHAT THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE HAVE ASKED, I.E., TO IMPEMENT TURNHALLE. BOTH INSISTED THAT WE WERE OVER-

EMPHASIZING IMPORTANCE OF CENTRAL AUTHORITY/INTERIM GOVERNMENT. HE ADDED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD GONE FAR IN MEETING U.N. DEMANDS OVER NAMIBIA. VORSTER KEPT COMING BACK TO ARGUMENT THAT HIS OWN CAUCUS WOULD ADVISE HIM TO LEAVE OFFICE IF HE DID NOT HONOR HIS COMMITMENT TO TURNHALLE. VORSTER SAID THAT TURNHALLE WAS TWO YEARS

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OLD AND THAT NO ONE HAD OBJECTED TO IT UNTIL CAPETOWN.
MCHENRY AND THE VICE PRESIDENT REMINDED SOUTH AFRICANS
OF DEMARCHES MADE AS EARLY AS APRIL 1975. BOTHA AND
VORSTER THEN DESCRIBED SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR
KISSINGER'S SEVEN POINTS, BLAMING FAILURE OF THAT
INITIATIVE ON SWAPO. FOURIE NOTED THAT ALL KISSINGER
HAD EVER SAID CONCERNING TUNHALLE WAS TO ASK DELAY IN

ITS IMPLEMENTATION.

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 VIENNA 4123

NODIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS USMISSION GENEVA EYES ONLY SECRETARY
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DEPT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE, ATT: DR. BRZEZINSKY

8. FOLLIWNG BRIEF ADJOURNMENT, VICE PRESIDENT SUGGESTED,
AND VORSTER AGREED, THAT CONTACT GROUP WOULD MEET AGAIN
IN CAPETOWN WITHSOUTH AFRICANS IN "LATE MAY", AT A
DATE TO BE DETERMINED, TO DISCUSS THE NATURE OFTHE
CENTRAL ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY AND PLANS FOR WITHDRAWAL.
BOTHA ARGUED THAT TURNHALLE REPRESENTATIVES SHOULD BE
PRESENT AT THAT MEETING, AND VICE PRESIDENT AND
MCHENRY AGRUED AGAINST IT. VORSTER SAID THAT "IF WE
DON'T FIND EACH OTHER" AT THE NEXT CAPETOWN MEETING,
HE HAD HIS "OWN COMMITMENTS TO HONOR BEFORE JUNE 20"
END OF CURRENT SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENTARY SESSION).

9. ON RETURNEES, VORSTER NOTED AGREEMENT REACHED AT
CAPETOWN, ADDING THAT A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF NAMIBIANS
WERE DETAINED IN ZAMBIA AND ELSEWHERE. THE VICE

PRESIDENT SAID THAT ALL NAMIBIANS SHOULD BE RELEASED. HE OBSERVED THAT U.S. HAS ARGUED FOR FREEDOM OF POLITICAL PRISONERS WORLDWIDE, POINTING OUT OUR POSITION REGARDING SOVIET DISSIDENTS, AND THAT THAT WOULD BE OUR STANCE AT UPCOMING BELGRADE CONFERENCE ON

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HELSINKI ACCORDS. VORSTER DID NOT OPPOSE VICE PRESIDNET'S PROPOSAL THAT NAMIBIAN PRISONERS HELD BY SOUTH AFRICA BE RETURNED TO NAMIBIA OR CONTACT GROUP'S EARLIER SUGGESTION THAT INDIVIDUAL CASES BE REVIEWED BY INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JUISTS. VORSTER DID SAY THAT SAG HAD DISCUSSED MATTER WITH KISSINGER, WHO HAD GIVEN SOUTH AFRICANS A LIST OF PRISONERS, WHICH SAG HAD REVIEWED. "ACCORDING TO THE NOTE ON THE CASE", SAID VORSTER, A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF THOSE ON THE LIST ALREADY HAD BEEN RELEASED , AND A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF THOSE NAMED WERE NEVER DETAINEE. THOSE CONVICTED OF COMMON CRIMES WOULD NOT BE FREED, HE ADDED VORSTER AGREED TO DISCSS WHOLE QUESTION IN CAPETOWN. HE WOULD SEE HIS COLLEAGUES, AND WOULD TRY TO REVIEW QUESTION "AS FAVORABLY AS POSSIBLE". BOTHA HAMMERED AGAIN AT QUESTION OF NAMIBIANS IMPISONED IN ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA, EXPRESSING FEAR THEY WOULD BE SUMMARILY EXECUTED. VICE PRESIDENT AGREED THAT WE WOULD ACT TO URGE THEIR LIBERATION, COUNSELING SOUTH AFRICA TO SET AN EXAMPLE BY LEBERATING ITS PRIONERS FIRST. VORSTER REPLIED THAT THIS WULD RISK HIS LOSING FACE. FURTHER, HIS OWN INTELLIGENCE INDICATED THAT THE LIBERATION OF NAMIBIANS NOW HELD BY THE SAG WOULD NOT MEAN THE INTRODUCTION OF MORE MODERATE VOICES ONTO THE SCENE. IN FACT, THEY WOULD CONSTITUTE EXACTLY THE OPPOSTITE.

10. U.S. POLICY: VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE THEN DESCRIBED THE FUNDAMENTAL TRANSFORMATION OF AMERICAN SOCIETY, AND OUR ENDURING COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS. HE TOLD VORSTER OF THE HISTORY OF INTEGRATION IN AMERICA, ITS ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES, AND HOW THIS CHANGE HAS ROBBED COMMUNISM OF ITS PROPAGANDA ARGUMENTS AGAINST

US.

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11. SOUTH AFRICA: VORSTER COUNTERED WITH STANDARD

FARE, POINTING OUT ADVANCEMENT FOR BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA IN EDUCATION, ON POLICE FORCE, IN TEACHING, AND INTEGRATION IN SPORTS. IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR HIS PARTY, VORSTER SAID, NO CHANGES WOULD HAVE OCCURRED. BUT, WHILE BLACKS ARE NOT INFERIOR, THERE ARE REALITIES IN SOUTH AFICA WHICH WILL NOT BE ALTERED. WE MUST NOT EQUATE HISTORY OF AMERICAN BLACKS WITH THAT OF SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS. HE BITTERLY REFERRED TO BRITISH EFFORTS TO ANGLICIZE AFRIKANERS, POINTING OUT FAVORABLE THAT AFRIKANERS NOW GO TO AFRIKAANS SCHOOLDs, ENGLISH TO ENGLISH SCHOOLS, XHOSAS TO XHOSAS SCHOOLS, ETC. NO ONE CAN CHANGE THIS, NO ONE WILL DARE TO. IF YOU SAY CHANGE, I WILL SAY I CAN'T. THE SYSTEM IS ENGRAINED IN US AND I WILL NOT CHANGE.

12. THE MEETING ADJOURNED AT 6:00 P.M., HAVING LASTED A HALF HOUR LONGER THAN EARLIER PROJECTED, WITH AGREEMENT TO BEGIN MEETING MORNING MAY 20 AN HOUR EARLEER, TO ALLOW ADDIRIONAL TIME. THE VICE PRESIDENT AND VORSTER ALSO AGREED NOT TO MAKE STATEMENT AT THIS TIME TO PRESS, OR TO CHARACTERIZED SESSIONS HELD MAY 19. MEEHAN

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